

Message Text

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TAGS: AORG, UNESCO

SUBJECT: UNESCO DRAFT DECLARATION ON RACE AND RACIAL
PREJUDICE

REF: STATE 56537

1. RE PARA 2 OF REFTEL, FOLLOWING ARE HIGHLIGHTS OF DIS-
CUSSIONS OF PANEL OF EXPERTS CONVENED BY U.S. NATIONAL COM-
MISSION UNESCO MARCH 6-7. THE POINTS CONTAINED HEREIN DO
NOT REFLECT THE DEPARTMENT'S VIEWS. THEY ARE BEING TRANS-
MITTED IN ORDER TO PROVIDE A BASIS OF DISCUSSION FOR U.S.
PARTICIPATION IN THE IG MEETING MARCH 9. THE DEPARTMENT
WILL BE DRAWING ON THE PANEL'S DELIBERATIONS IN ITS
PREPARATION OF POSITION PAPERS FOR UNESCO CONFERENCE
MARCH 13-20.
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2. THERE WERE FIVE OVERRIDING CONCERNS WHICH SURFACED
THROUGHOUT THE DISCUSSIONS. THESE WERE:
A) THE NEED TO DEFINE TERMS, AND TO USE THE BROADEST DEF-
INITIONS POSSIBLE. THERE WAS DISAGREEMENT WITH UNESCO'S
CONTENTION THAT RACIALISM AND RACISM ARE SYNONYMOUS. IN
SOCIAL SCIENCE TERMS, RACIALISM IS IDEOLOGICAL, WHILE
RACISM IS THE GENERIC AND THUS MORE INCLUSIVE TERM

SUBSUMING RACIALISM. THERE WAS FELT TO BE A GLARING LACK
IN THAT THE DOCUMENT DOES NOT ADDRESS RACIAL DISCRIMINA-

TION WHICH IS THE ACTION OFTEN BASED UPON RACIAL PREJUDICE. DOCUMENT SHOULD THEREFORE BE REVIEWED IN ITS ENTIRETY INSERTING TERM RACIAL DISCRIMINATION WHERE THIS IS MEANT, AND USING RACISM RATHER THAN RACIALISM WHERE THIS IS MEANT. IN DEFINING TERMS SUGGESTED THAT DEFINITION USED IN THE UN DECLARATION ON THE ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION BE USED IN DEFINING TERM "RACIAL DISCRIMINATION".

B) NO MENTION OF GENOCIDE CONSTITUTES A GLARING GAP IN THE DOCUMENT.

C) IN RESPONSE TO STRONG FEELINGS BY SOME MEMBERS OF THE PANEL, FULL DISCUSSION HELD OF WHETHER SEX SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN THIS DOCUMENT. AGREEMENT REACHED THAT THIS WAS A DECLARATION ADDRESSING RACE AND THAT INsofar AS RACE INCLUDED CULTURE, LANGUAGE, ETC. AS COMPONENTS AND EXPRESSIONS OF RACIAL DIFFERENCE INCLUSION OF THESE WAS JUSTIFIED, BUT THAT WE SHOULD NOT TRY TO EXPAND THE FUNCTION OF THE DECLARATION TO INCLUDE SEX. HOWEVER ANY SEXIST BIAS IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE DOCUMENT SHOULD BE REMOVED, I.E. USE OF "HUMANKIND" (WHICH TRANSLATES NICELY INTO FRENCH "HUMANITE") IN PLACE OF MANKIND (LAST LINE PARA 5 OF TEXT).

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D) AN UNDERLYING ASSUMPTION OF THIS DOCUMENT IS THAT THE ELIMINATION OF RACISM OR RACIALISM (ATTITUDES) WILL ELIMINATE INEQUALITY BASED ON RACISM (DISCRIMINATION AND THE UNFAVORABLE EFFECTS OF DISCRIMINATION). THE U.S. EXPERIENCE HAS SHOWN THAT PROGRESS IN RATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC UNDERSTANDING OF RACE, RACIAL PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION AND THE MORAL ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF RACIAL INJUSTICE HAVE NOT EFFECTIVELY REDUCED INEQUALITY BETWEEN RACIAL GROUPS. THE SITUATION IS UNFORTUNATELY MUCH MORE COMPLEX. A DISTINCTION IS REQUIRED BETWEEN INTENDED AND NON-INTENDED DISCRIMINATION. THE LATTER, WHICH HAS COME TO BE TERMED "INSTITUTIONALIZED RACISM" IS PERPETUATED THROUGH INSTITUTIONS HISTORICALLY ESTABLISHED IN A RACIST SOCIETY AND STILL SERVING RACIST ENDS DESPITE THE BEST OF INTENTIONS IN THE PRESENT TIME. THIS POINTS UP THE NEED FOR GOING BEYOND EQUAL OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL INDIVIDUALS AND FOR THE NEED FOR AFFIRMATIVE ACTION. WHILE THIS ANALYSIS IS IMPLICITLY SUPPORTED IN ARTICLE 9(2), SUGGESTIONS WERE MADE TO INCLUDE THIS IDEA IN THE DECLARATION IN ARTICLES 3, 4, AND 5 (SEE PARA 3, E-H).

E) THERE WAS AGREEMENT THAT THE CONCERN IN THIS DOCUMENT WITH THE PECULIAR SITUATION OF APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA (UNDERSTANDABLE AS THAT MAY BE) IS ALLOWING A SPECIFIC SITUATION TO INFLUENCE TOO GREATLY A DOCUMENT WHICH SHOULD

BE ADDRESSING BROAD UNIVERSAL PRINCIPLES. FALSE TO ASSUME SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT ALWAYS RESULTS IN THE HORRORS OF SOUTH AFRICA. DECLARATION THEREFORE DISPLAYS AN INSENSI-

TIVITY AND DANGER TO OTHER GROUPS IN DIFFERING CIRCUMSTANCES. FOR EXAMPLE, NATIVE AMERICANS SEE SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT AS A BULWARK TO PRESERVING THEIR RIGHT TO BE DIFFERENT WHICH RIGHT ACKNOWLEDGED IN THIS DOCUMENT. THEY SEE A DANGER TO THEIR TREATY RIGHTS AND TO THE RIGHTS OF DISTINCT POPULATIONS IN OTHER SOCIETIES TO CULTURAL DIVERSITY.

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3. THE FOLLOWING ARE SPECIFIC POINTS ADDRESSING THE DECLARATION AND THE EXPLANATION:

A) RE PARA 3 OF INTRODUCTION - STATEMENT REGARDING ORIGIN OF CONCEPT OF RACE INACCURATE. SUGGEST BETTER STATEMENT MIGHT BE, "WHILE IDEAS OF RACIAL DISTINCTION BEGAN TO TAKE SHAPE IN THE 17TH AND 18TH CENTURIES, A CONCEPT OF RACE CRYSTALLIZED IN THE MIDDLE OF THE 19TH CENTURY."

B) RE ARTICLE 1 (2) - TWO SUGGESTIONS MADE FOR DEALING WITH SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT IN LINE WITH OBJECTIONS NOTED IN PARAGRAPH 2 E ABOVE:

-- INSERT "INVOLUNTARY" OR "EXTERNALLY OPPOSED" IN LINE 7 BEFORE "SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT".

-- INSERT "WHICH HAVE THE EFFECT OF DENYING HUMAN RIGHTS TO THE PERTINENT POPULATIONS" AFTER "POLICIES" IN LINE 7.

C) RE ARTICLE 1 (3) - DELETE LAST SENTENCE OR CHANGE IN SOME WAY TO ADDRESS CONCERN THAT DECLARATION, IN A DESIRE TO ADDRESS EQUAL POTENTIAL, TENDS TO DENY THE EXISTENCE OF INEQUALITY. THERE IS A NEED TO RETAIN AND USE SOCIAL STRATIFICATION AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO THE POWER STRUCTURE IN ORDER TO REDRESS INEQUALITY. TO PROSCRIBE SUCH CLASSIFICATION AS A SOURCE OF DISCRIMINATION IS TO STATE AS A PREMISE WHAT IS IN REALITY THE FINAL GOAL.

D) RE ARTICLE 2 (3) - THERE WAS A FELT NEED FOR A MORE ACCURATE STATEMENT OF HOW RACISM WITH ITS SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL DIMENSIONS SPRINGS FORTH FROM CULTURE. SUGGESTED SUBSTITUTE FOR THIS SECTION IS: "RACISM MANIFESTS ITSELF IN VARIOUS FORMS OF RACIAL PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION. THESE SOCIAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS AND GROUPS CANNOT BE JUSTIFIED ON THE BASIS OF SCIENTIFIC DATA OR ETHICAL STANDARDS."

E) RE ARTICLE 3 - REPLACE "EVERY HUMAN BEING" WITH "MINORITY GROUPS AND MEMBERS OF SUCH MINORITY GROUPS". THIS WOULD DEAL WITH THE CONCERN WITH REDRESSING FORMER UNCLASSIFIED

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WRONGS, I.E., AFFIRMATIVE ACTION TO ELIMINATE INSTITUTIONAL RACISM (SEE PARA 2 D ABOVE).

F) RE ARTICLE 4 - REPLACE "FREE SETTLEMENT" WITH "MOVEMENT" IN LINE 1. THIS WOULD ADDRESS CONCERN EXPRESSED IN

PARAGRAPH 2 E ABOVE. REPLACE WORDS, "BASED ON" TO "HAVE EFFECT ON" IN LINE 2. CONCERN HERE IS THAT EXPRESSED IN PARAGRAPH 2 D ABOVE.

G) RE ARTICLE 5 (1) - THE PANEL HAD TROUBLE ENDORSING THIS SECTION WHICH SEEMS TO GIVE AN INTERNATIONAL STAMP OF APPROVAL TO ANYTHING LABELLED "CULTURE". THERE ARE CULTURES WHICH ARE INHERENTLY RACIST, SEXIST, ETC. WITH OBJECTIONABLE ATTITUDES CONSTITUTING AN INTEGRAL PART OF THEIR ECONOMIC, RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL SOCIAL STRUCTURE. IT IS DIFFICULT TO MAKE A STATEMENT SUCH AS THIS DIVORCED FROM ANY DISCUSSION OF THE CONTENT OF CULTURE. THOUGHT THESE OBJECTIONS MIGHT BE ADDRESSED IN THE EXPLANATION OF THE DECLARATION.

H) RE ARTICLE 5(2) AND (3) - IN THESE SECTIONS DEALING WITH REMEDIES TO RACIAL DISCRIMINATION BY GOVERNMENTS, EDUCATORS, SCIENTISTS, AND THE MASS MEDIA PANEL FELT STRONGLY THAT A MORE POSITIVE STANCE SHOULD BE TAKEN IN ADVOCATING ACTIVE STEPS FOR A REDRESS OF THE SITUATION RATHER THAN MERELY REFRAINING FROM NEGATIVE ACTIONS. THUS LINE 3 IN SECTION 3 "REFRAINING FROM PRESENTING, ETC." SHOULD BE REWORKED TO SUGGEST POSITIVE REPRESENTATION OF VICTIMS OF RACISM. IN DISCUSSION OF THE USE OF EDUCATION (SECTION 2) EXPLANATION MIGHT ADDRESS NEED FOR EDUCATION DEALING WITH CONFLICT RESOLUTION. ALSO NEED FOR UNESCO TO PROVIDE AN INTERNATIONAL CLEARINGHOUSE FOR RESEARCH, LITERATURE AND LEGISLATION ADDRESSING RACE AND RACISM.

I) RE ARTICLES 6 AND 7 - THE PANEL SAW A CLEAR DANGER OF VIOLATION OF FIRST AMENDMENT FREEDOMS, ESPECIALLY IN ARTICLE 7, BUT FELT DEPARTMENT COULD BEST ADDRESS THIS CONCERN. AGAIN NATIVE AMERICAN CONCERN WAS EXPRESSED IN CONNECTION WITH THESE ARTICLES IN GIVING THE STATE POWERS UNCLASSIFIED

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WHICH COULD VIOLATE THEIR RIGHTS.

J) RE ARTICLE 8 (2) - IMPLICATIONS OF AN UNJUSTIFIED FAITH IN SCIENCE IMPLICIT IN THIS SECTION (SEE PARAGRAPH 2 D ABOVE). PANEL WOULD LIKE RECOGNITION IN THIS SECTION OF INCLUSION OF RACIAL MINORITIES IN PLANNING OF RESEARCH IN WHICH THEY ARE THE SUBJECT. ALSO, WHILE SCIENTISTS SHOULD STAND BEHIND INTEGRITY OF THEIR RESEARCH, RESPONSIBILITY SHOULD NOT BE PUT ON THEM FOR PUBLICIZING FINDINGS. FURTHER SUGGESTION WAS TO DELETE "INTER-DISCIPLINARY" IN LINE 4. WHILE IT WAS ACKNOWLEDGED THAT SOME OF THE BEST RESEARCH IN THIS AREA HAS BEEN INTER-DISCIPLINARY, WE DO NOT WANT TO PROSCRIBE INDIVIDUAL EFFORTS. ALSO RATHER THAN "INCUMBENT UPON" SHOULD REWORD TO EXPRESS ENCOURAGEMENT.

K) RE ARTICLE 9 (2) - OBJECTION MADE TO SINGLING OUT MIGRANT WORKERS. REPLACE "INDIVIDUALS AND GROUPS" IN LINE 1 AND "SOCIALLY EXCLUDED GROUPS" IN LINES 3 AND 4 WITH "RACIAL OR CULTURAL MINORITIES". THIS WOULD BETTER

ADDRESS THE CONCERNS OF THIS PARTICULAR DECLARATION AND

DEAL WITH CONCERNS EXPRESSED IN PARAGRAPH 2 D ABOVE. IN LENGTHY DISCUSSION OF WHETHER WE SHOULD INSERT "OF OPPORTUNITY" AFTER "EQUALITY" IN LINE 1, GENERAL FEELING WAS FOR AFFIRMATIVE ACTION AND NOT JUST FOR EQUAL OPPORTUNITY. HOWEVER, THERE WAS AN ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF THE DIFFICULTY OF ENSURING EQUALITY. QUESTIONS WERE RAISED REGARDING THE PHRASE, "SUCH AS TO APPEAR", BUT NO SUGGESTIONS MADE FOR REVISION.

L) RE ARTICLE 10 - PANEL QUESTIONED RAISING SPECTER OF FORCE OF ARMS. CONSENSUS WAS THAT POSITIVE STATEMENT AFFIRMING THE RIGHTS OF PEOPLES TO ORGANIZE AND TO APPEAL TO INTERNATIONAL BODIES IN AN EFFORT TO INTERNATIONALIZE THEIR STRUGGLE PREFERABLE TO PRESENT ARTICLE. SUGGESTED REFERENCING OUR DISCUSSION OF THIS TO HELSINKI ACCORDS.

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SUGGESTED SUBSTITUTE ARTICLE 10 PROPOSED AS FOLLOWS:
"INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, WHETHER UNIVERSAL OR REGIONAL, GOVERNMENTAL OR NON-GOVERNMENTAL, MUST COOPERATE AND CONTRIBUTE, SO FAR AS THEIR RESPECTIVE FIELDS OF COMPETENCE AND RESOURCES ALLOW, IN THE FULL AND COMPLETE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE AFOREMENTIONED PRINCIPLES. PEOPLE BORN EQUAL IN DIGNITY AND RIGHTS WHO SUFFER FROM THE RAVAGES OF RACISM, RACIAL PREJUDICE AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION, HAVE THE RIGHT TO ORGANIZE IN DEFENSE OF THE MAINTENANCE OF THEIR DIGNITY AND SURVIVAL AND TO COMBAT TYRANNY AND OPPRESSION, INCLUDING THE RIGHT TO APPEAL TO EXTERNAL INSTITUTIONS FOR SUPPORT AND ASSISTANCE."

4. FOREGOING IS PROVIDED IN SAME SPIRIT AS CONVEYED IN PARA ONE OF PARIS 8070 CONCERNING IG DISCUSSIONS OF SUBJECT DECLARATION. PERMDEL SHOULD USE ITS DISCRETION IN DRAWING ON POINTS IN PARAS 2 AND 3 ABOVE DEEMED PERTINENT TO IG DISCUSSION. DEPARTMENT WOULD APPRECIATE RECEIVING ASAP (A) IG COMMENTS ON THOSE POINTS RAISED IN DISCUSSION (B) PERMDEL VIEWS ON THOSE POINTS WHICH MIGHT BE INCLUDED IN U.S. POSITION PAPER. VANCE

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